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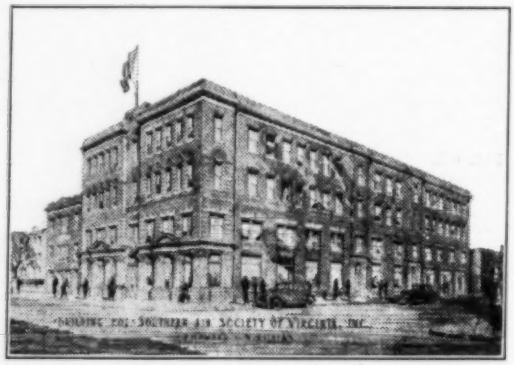

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REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. B. Du Bois, Editor — Irene C. Malvan, Business Manager

The Crisis was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is conducted by an Editorial Board, consisting of W. E. B. Du Bois, Editor-in-chief, Walter White, Herbert J. Seligmann and Rachel Davis Du Bois.

Volume 38, No. 7. — *Whole No. 249*

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FORECAST

We apologize to those of our friends who were unable to secure a copy of the June Crisis. To our own embarrassment the whole edition was sold out before June 1. We have tried to print enough of the present number but suggest that this number and the two succeeding numbers are of such unusual interest that readers can only be sure of securing copies by becoming regular subscribers.

The *August* number is our 20th Annual *Education* Number. It will have educational news and criticism; C. G. Woodson will sum up his current critique of Negro education; Arthur P. Davis writes for us again, and we are expecting an article by John Dewey and notes by six leading university presidents.

The *September* number will be in some respects the most remarkable number we have issued. *Six United States Senators* will give advice to Negroes on future political activity.

Our *Children's* Number comes in October. We are selecting a few of the best photographs. They should reach us in August.

We want immediately the photographs of all colored recipients of the degree of A. M. and Ph. D. during 1931, and of all recipients of the degree of A. B. who led their class in scholarship or joined the Phi Beta Kappa or received other distinctions.

The Crisis is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while The Crisis uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.

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316 N. Central, Dept. B.
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

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AS THE EAGLE SOARS

I regard the race and colour prejudice which barricades human beings against one another as the greatest evil of modern times, which should be overcome if humanity must be realized as one in spirit.

The different paths along which progress may be made towards recovery from this evil are manifold. My own stress would be laid upon the elevation of the public mind and the collection and dissemination of accurate scientific knowledge as against the pseudo-science and pseudo-religion which in their disguise of truth are treacherously dealing mortal blows to truth herself.

There should be a united effort to combine the emotional forces of religion, in its broadest sense, with the spread of education based on fully ascertained truth concerning the human race as a whole.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

As the Crow Flies

The Supreme Court insists that no man can become a naturalized citizen unless he is willing to lie, steal, and kill. This is good news for Alabama.

•

In the football match between the Catholic hierarchy and the Fascisti most of the world hardly knows whether to look patriotic or reverent.

•

What the Hell are Congressional Medals of Honor for, unless to hang on swashbucklers like Butler, who can, with proper machine-gun support, lick any damned nigger when he's held down?

•

Dr. Otto Spengler still insists that the white world made the mistake of its life when it brought machines and technique to colored folk.

•

Believe it or not, but Duke University founded by the Tobacco and Power Trusts, has as fountain head of its Department of Economics a guy yclept, Calvin Hoover. Dear God! That is adding injury to insult.

•

Secretary Mellon is wild for equal taxation. He maintains that John Smith ought to have at least the same chance to pay taxes as the Aluminium Trust, and perhaps even more.

•

After all, what difference does it make to most of us whether the Star-Spangled United States Treasury is a billion dollars, or ten cents in the red?

•

With the Amalgamated Mayors and Texas Guinan already representing American culture in France, we only need to complete the picture with a lynching at the tomb of Unknown Soldier.

•

If Al Jolson carries out his threat of playing the Lord in the film of "Green Pastures" we shall expect to see Charlie Chaplin heading the caste at Oberammergau.

•

We're pikers. Why mess around with dribblets of 10, 15, or 50% raises in the Tariff wall? Pish and piffle! Why not just stop all imports from everywhere, forever? This would keep dirty foreigners from living off us. Then watch wages hike to Heaven, and listen to the roar of the full dinner pail.

If you want to be President of France, be nobody; if you want to be King of England, do nothing; if you want to be Queen of Roumania, don't marry the King; if you want to be King of Spain, run away; if you want to be King of Italy, fade away; if you want to be President of the United States—but what's the use?

•

Go ahead, California, and elect Dave Clark. He won't be the first murderer on the bench, nor the last.

•

All the Cabinet has got to do is to keep on prophesying prosperity, and if any of them live long enough, they are bound to be right some time.

•

All of the new newspaper barrage which is now being laid down will let poor, sick, Secretary Fall keep his $100,000 bribe and spend the summer at that ranch.

•

What is the cause of Depression? War. What is the cause of War? Preparation for War. Why do we prepare for War? Because we believe in our country, right or wrong, and are 100% Americans.

My Attitude Toward Negro Labor

By WILLIAM N. DOAK

United States Secretary of Labor and Member of the President's Cabinet

I AM glad to say that for more than a quarter of a century my activities have been earnestly directed to matters relating to the welfare of the laboring men and women and their relationships with employers. During that period, I have had frequent opportunity to be of assistance in the progress which Negro labor is steadily making. Among my pleasantest memories from a personal standpoint, are wage increases and better working conditions which I have assisted in securing from time to time, prior to being appointed Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of President Hoover, for the workers on some of the country's great railway trunk lines, including appreciable numbers of Negro employees.

THE CRISIS has expressed itself frankly from time to time concerning the attitude of the newest member of the President's Cabinet toward colored labor. Mr. Doak belongs to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen which does not admit colored members. He has been openly charged with opposing the employment of colored men. THE CRISIS *has therefore asked him to state frankly his attitude toward colored labor and this is his reply.*

The Department of Labor, over which I have the honor of presiding, is the Government's instrumentality of special service to all the workers of our country, and we are endeavoring earnestly to carry out the many duties which the law has charged us to perform in this behalf. Accordingly, you will find each bureau and division of the Federal Department of Labor available to all the workers and employers of America in matters pertaining to Labor, including the group in which you are especially interested, for the purpose of fostering, promoting and developing the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, improving their working conditions, and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment.

Business Points The Way

By ALBON L. HOLSEY

A RECENT report from the State of Texas tells us that there are three thousand Negroes in that state qualified to teach who have nothing to do. This Texas report, as an index, also tells us that a large majority of our schools are still geared up for the "missionary" output and apparently unaware of the changing status of the Negro and the entirely new economic structure of our country.

The perpetuation of the exclusively "missionary" spirit is one of the danger points in Negro education and should be closely watched during the next few years. Its danger is found in three places:

(a) Some of the older heads of our schools are either unwilling, or unable to change their habits of educational thinking.

(b) Many of the younger generation of Negro teachers go to the class room with a "nothing-else-to-do-to-make-a-living" spirit and find it easier to "fall in line" than to resist the entrenched traditions.

(c) Certain groups in white America believe that Negroes as missionaries among themselves are likely to be less troublesome than Negroes as alert, active business men.

Two or three years ago, we were told that in a small town in a southern state, a prosperous and intelligent Negro farmer bought up the cotton produced by a few of his neighboring small Negro farmers. This cotton was bought to resell at a higher price. The whites in the town were incensed; told him that what he did was "white peoples' business" and gave him the choice of returning the cotton to the Negroes from whom he purchased it or leaving town.

Mr. Holsey represents the newest Tuskegee philosophy concerning the economic development of the Negro. He is an executive official of the Negro Business League which was founded by Booker T. Washington. Mr. Holsey has been connected with Tuskegee for over fifteen years and expresses the Negro capitalistic point of view.

Now come reports from Philadelphia and Boston that Negro students of commercial schools who take courses in retail selling are not permitted to do practice work in department stores the same as the white students of the same classes. Many reports come from the South that Negro principals of city schools are discouraged from developing commercial departments on the grounds that such expenditures of school funds are a waste because there are no opportunities for such graduates to secure employment.

Thus, we find that whether in Georgia or in Massachusetts, the resistance to Negro participation in business is just the same except perhaps in method.

Contrast this with the outlook of the white boy. At an early age, he joins the Junior Chamber of Commerce where he gets into the atmosphere of business and learns its first principles. His father, in the meantime, through his own business, or through his friends in Rotary or Kiwanis, is looking ahead for a place for his son.

Apparently, no one is thinking similarly or planning ahead for the Negro boy. Even the trade courses in many of our schools do not include adequate related courses in merchandising. The boy in tailoring or the girl in

Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Albon Holsey

millinery are insufficiently trained unless they know how to produce and how to sell in accordance with present-day competition; and even if they elect to work in an establishment, their chances for promotion are better if they have some knowledge of the market and its relation to sales.

It is clear, then, that we must create our own business atmosphere and produce our own merchandising experts from whom its principles will filter back and forth to our schools and our business enterprises. It is also apparent that we must employ the material and opportunities in our own group to develop the necessary technique.

As we use the term "merchandising" it is in no sense veiled in mystery, nor does it presuppose a sort of superman. As these lines are written, we can think of a dozen Negroes who have the instincts and abilities, and if given the opportunity, could earn from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars a year in the field of merchandising.

Outstanding among the "captains" of Negro business are the Spauldings, Paces, Gibsons, Jordans, Overtons and Rutherfords, who have "made the grade" in insurance, and yet this business, as at present supported by our people, represents an annual volume of less than $40,000,000 and gives employment to not more than 10,000 persons. In the handling of necessities, such as: food, clothing, furniture, and drugs, our participation is almost nil, and here are fields which when based upon our actual annual spending power entitle us to a half million more jobs.

We do not have these jobs, nor are we performing equivalent functions for America; and until we do, the lack of participation will be a continuing economic waste for us as well as a bludgeon in unsympathetic hands to strike us down as we struggle for existence.

Both competition and prejudice will resist our entrance into these fields, but it is a question of tackling the job in order to survive; and the longer it is delayed, the more difficult it will become.

We cannot, however, expect the schools to meet the present emergency by themselves. It requires, also, an aroused public opinion among us which will challenge each dollar we spend to bring back to the race an adequate return in economic recognition.

The National Negro Business League has recently undertaken a program which seeks to get the facts concerning the Negroes' buying power and to present these facts to American business as the basis of appeal for more economic recognition for our people.

To accomplish these results, the League has:

(1) Undertaken, with the cooperation of the National Association of Colored Women and other organizations, a nationwide study of Negro buying habits.

(2) Organized a *Negro Market Data Service* for National Advertisers and Manufacturers. The fees received from this service are being expended for research and service to our advertising clients.

(3) Invited the buyers and business managers of Negro schools and hospitals to meet in conference in New York. This conference will be strictly educational. Lectures will be given by expert buyers, and there will be demonstrations in testing and grading merchandise, as well as guidance in budgeting large-quantity supplies for institutions.

(4) Organized and incorporated the C. M. A. Stores, a voluntary chain of Negro retail grocers. On its interracial directorate are successful white business men who have *faith* as well as sympathy.

(5) Set up a Model Grocery Store in Harlem. This store, for the first nine months has shown a stock turn of 2.13 times per month in contrast to one turn-over per month which is the average for American grocery stores.

(6) Through the C. M. A. caused the employment of Negroes as salesmen for wholesale grocery houses.

(7) Placed on the market, through regular trade channels, the first private-label brand food products controlled by Negroes which yield both brokerage fees and profits.

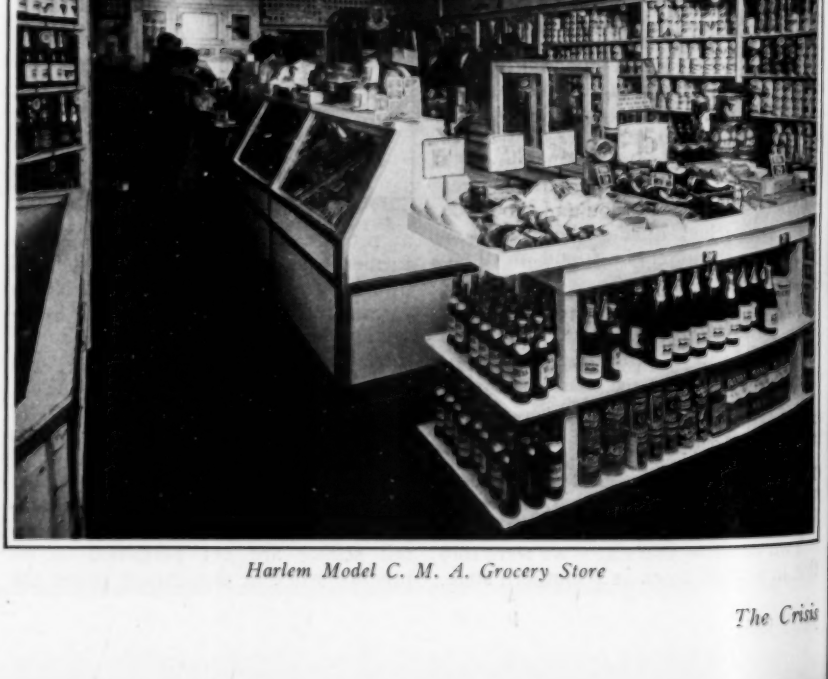
(8) Plans for organizing other retail groups similar to the grocery cooperative.

The Business League believes in and supports Negro business—not segregated Negro business, but Negro business identified as to ownership and management although unidentified as to service and sales.

The Business League also believes that Negro retail business if successful, will, although identified, be more quickly and readily absorbed by American business and the identity forgotten in the maelstrom of competition.

The Business League knows that appreciation of the Negro market by advertisers and manufacturers will eventually mean advertising in Negro publications and more employment of Negroes in factories, offices and retail outlets.

It, therefore, believes that Business points the only way to a breakdown of the barriers and handicaps which retard Negro progress.



Harlem Model C. M. A. Grocery Store

Shall the Negro Worker Turn To Labor Or To Capital?

By WILL HERBERG

THE economic crisis and the tremendous growth of unemployment have given a new emphasis to a number of very serious questions of concern to the Negro worker. None of these is more pressing than the problem of coping with unemployment, for to the Negro worker unemployment is an even worse scourge than to the white worker. However incredible may be the levels to which the general unemployment figures are shooting, the percentage of unemployment among the Negroes is still higher! It is calculated that unemployment has hit the Negro worker at least twice as hard as the white worker. In the city of Pittsburgh, for example, a city where Negroes are but 8% of the total population, 40% of the applicants for the municipal relief fund were Negroes. In Buffalo, a survey of the National Urban League showed that "in March 1930 17.7% of the Negroes were unemployed as compared with 10.8% among the whites. In Philadelphia, in one district 29.2% of the Negroes were unemployed and 6.8% of the whites." With all necessary secondary modifications, it remains true that the "inferior" status, economically and socially, of the Negro in American society, condemns him to be "the first to be fired and the last to be hired."

It must be recognized that it is often the white worker himself who helps condemn his colored fellow-worker to this position. The American Federation of Labor in practice rejects any idea of the economic equality of Negro and white worker: it refuses to organize the Negro proletarian and, in the rare cases that it does, it segregates him in "jim-crow" unions. Cases are notorious in which conservative labor unions have ordered strikes because a Negro worker was employed while white workers were out of a job!

By and large, the situation is the same in "normal" times as far as the relations of the Negro and industry are concerned. It is a commonplace, yet it is an aching truth, that the access of the Negro worker to industry is barred by numberless obstacles even in normal times, that he can only find a place in industry in inferior and low-standard positions, that all too frequently his entry into industry is gained thru strike-breaking and scabbery. The problem of the Negro and unemployment in this crisis period is an aggravation of the more general problem of the Negro and industry in normal times.

Mr. Herberg is the Managing Editor of THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE, *a weekly Communist newspaper, and the official organ of the communist party (Majority Group). He writes:*

"The interesting discussions that have been going on in THE CRISIS *on various phases of the position of the Negro in modern American society have always struck me as very significant—especially the freshness and the freedom of the views expressed. I have the feeling, however, that the modern revolutionary viewpoint (the viewpoint of the Communists) has not found sufficient reflection in your columns. Yet I am sure that this viewpoint is important and would be of great interest to your readers, whatever may be thought of its validity.*

"I am therefore enclosing an article expressive of this viewpoint. I hope you will find it possible to publish it in your columns."

Hounded from every side, discriminated against and spurned by those to whom he has a right to look for fraternal assistance, the Negro worker indeed needs the clearest vision if he is to reach the goal of racial and economic emancipation, or even make substantial improvement in his conditions. Unfortunately the guidance received by the Negro working masses today is not such as to lead in this direction. It comes today from just those elements of the Negro people who, in spite of their undoubted sincerity, are unfortunately not in the position to point out the road. It comes today from the "community leaders" (the preachers, the teachers, and the politicians), from the "social workers" and journalists, from precisely those who, owing to their own class position, are themselves (including the Garveyites!) thoroughly and subtly influenced by the crassest prejudices of "white American, capitalist civilization."

What are the proposals recommended by these bourgeois leaders to the Negro workers to help them meet the problem raised by unemployment and by modern industrial conditions as such? From a general viewpoint, these proposals may be grouped under three heads: 1. Let us use the consuming (buying) power of the Negro people to force them to hire our people! 2. Let us build up our own industry and commerce to make places for our workers on a plane of equality and no discrimination. 3. Let the Negro workers collaborate with the white capitalists by offering to work at lower wages and thus force an entry into industry.

Let us examine each of these proposals in order to see its significance for the Negro worker.

1. USING OUR CONSUMING POWER

The triviality of the first proposal is obvious on the face of it. It is indeed possible to organize boycott actions to compel petty shopkeepers in Harlem to hire Negro clerks and it is even possible on occasion to kick up a row big enough to force a Woolworth store in Chicago to make a "promise." But what has this to do with the hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in the coal, iron, steel, oil, automobile and packing industries, in the basic industries of America? Can the Negro people use their "buying power" to refuse to buy locomotives or automobiles so as to compel the big trusts to end discrimination against the Negroes? Or shall the Negro people refuse to buy meat or coal to the same end? There is no substance to the "use our buying power" proposal: it can only be raised by those whose social vision is bounded by petty industry and petty trade, who see everything not from the viewpoint of the Negro workers, (the great mass of the Negro people) but rather from that of the Negro small business man.

2. BUILDING A "NEGRO ECONOMY"

The second proposal is more pretentious but hardly more realistic. Do the champions of this plan seriously propose the establishment of a "Negro" coal or iron or steel or packing industry side by side with the existing giant trusts and competing with them? For it is precisely in these industries that the overwhelming bulk of the Negro proletarians are found—and not in the small shops in Harlem or on the South Side of Chicago. Could a more visionary, more utopian proposal be imagined? Is it not clear that the only tangible benefits of the attempts to build a "Negro economy" would be limited at best to the Negro small capitalists?

Is it not obvious that:

"The success of a Negro petty-capitalism will give economic reality merely to our con-

temporary Negro middle class which is temperamentally detached from the realities of working class life?" (Harris in "The Negro Worker")

Or that:

". . . however successful Negro business enterprise may be, . . . it must in the nature of the case remain a diminutive force in modern industrialism—which is to say, that its heralded power for meeting the problem of Negro unemployment will be of small importance?" (Ibid.)

And suppose, merely for the sake of argument, that a "Negro economy" is developed. Of what substantial benefit could this be to the Negro industrial worker? The Negro who has become a capitalist is more of a capitalist than a Negro. Is it not conceivable that a Negro employer may exploit and oppress and even discriminate against Negro workers just as do white capitalists—and for the same reasons? Have we not heard of Jewish capitalists who refuse to hire Jewish clerks? Is it not notorious that the ultra-Zionist capitalists are precisely among the worse exploiters of their dear fellow-Jews? Capitalists first—Jews afterwards, very much afterwards! The Negro workers should learn this lesson.

3. "Collaborating With the White Bosses"

But the most insidious, the most dangerous proposal is at the same time the most wide-spread: the idea that the Negro workers should adopt a conciliatory attitude to the white capitalists, should make "concessions," in order to acquire a better and firmer position in industry. This attitude is common to practically all trends of Negro bourgeois social thought as the following illuminating quotations indicate:

"I believe that the interest of my people lies with the wealth of the nation and with the class of white people who control it." (Bishop Carey.)

"It seems strange and a paradox, but the only convenient friend the Negro worker or laborer has in America at the present time is the white capitalist. The capitalist being selfish . . . is willing and glad to use Negro labor wherever possible on a scale below the standard union wage. . . .

"If the Negro takes my advice he will . . . always keep his scale of wages a little lower than the whites . . .; by doing so he will keep the good will of the white employer. . . ." (Marcus Garvey)

"There is every indication that it is the intention of the great industries to foster and favor the Negro workman. . . . For the Negro wantonly to flout their generous advances by joining the restless ranks which threaten industrial ruin would be fatuous suicide.

"At present the capitalist class possess the culture and conscience which hold even the malignity of race passion in restraint. . . . Whatever good or evil the future may hold in store for him, today's wisdom heedless of logical consistency demands that he stand shoulder to shoulder with the captains of industry." (Kelly Miller). (7).

Is it necessary to undertake a serious refutation of Professor Miller's remarks about the absence of race passion among the "cultured" white bourgeois? Race prejudice is such an integral part of white capitalist ideology and it is precisely because the American working class is so bourgeois-minded (i. e., so backward in class-consciousness) that it has allowed itself to be corrupted, in the most devious and subtle ways, by these "cultured" knights of the rope and fagot. Is not hiding this fact objectively almost the same as defending the lynchers and their protectors?

Is it not obvious that by "collaborating" with the white capitalist the Negro worker would be helping the oppressor play his old, old game: "Divide and rule!" By making himself the tool of the white boss, the Negro worker would merely strengthen the force that would beat him down still further. Certain sections of the white employing class might quite conceivably welcome the

Negro Graduates of Brookwood Labor College. *Page 235*

"offer of collaboration" made in the name of the Negro workers by the Negro bourgeois with the obvious purpose of playing off one section of the labor movement against the other but what possible advantage of other than merely temporary, illusory character—such maneuvers can bring the Negro workers themselves not even the persuasive tongue of Professor Miller can make out.

One of the most serious aspects of the Negro bourgeois' propaganda of class collaboration between the Negro workers and the white bosses is the fact that it adds fuel to the horrible flames of race prejudice which the white bourgeois has fanned (not only deliberately but primarily through the objective mechanics of class domination) in the breasts of the backward American white workers. And in this way too the Negro bourgeois is unwittingly playing the game of the worse enemies of the Negro race, the lily-white capitalist autocracy.

Not only does the "concessions" propaganda of the Negro bourgeois stimulate the anti-Negro prejudices of the backward white workers, but it also has an extremely deleterious influence upon the growing signs of class-consciousness in the ranks of the Negro workers, hindering and suppressing its development. And here too the beneficiaries are simply and solely the capitalists.

But as against all of these arguments the contention is often raised that Negro-worker-white-capitalist collaboration represents the "racial interests" of the Negro! The Negro worker, we are told, should subordinate his "lower" class interests as a worker to his "higher" interests as a Negro. But this is a mere delusion. In helping the white capitalists, the Negro workers would help precisely that element in modern American society under whose inspiration, direction and protection the most shameful excesses against the Negro people are perpetrated. What the attitude of the Negro bourgeois in this respect really represents is a surrender of both the racial and the class interests of the Negro worker in favor of the class interests of the white capitalists! Between the class and racial interests of the Negro proletarian there is no conflict; both call him to struggle against and not collaboration with the white bourgeois.

The course proposed by the Negro bourgeois for the workers is a course of futility and collective group suicide for the Negro proletariat, both as Negroes and proletarians. It is a course that completely subordinates the interests of the Negro workers and the Negro people as a whole to the interests of the dominant white bourgeois (and, to a certain extent, to the interests of the upper strata of the Negro bourgeois closely bound up with the white capitalists.)

As against this course, the Negro workers and all elements of the Negro people who are alive to the real interests of their race must offer another course—a course of awakening class-consciousness and growing racial militancy, a course of firm labor solidarity with the white workers (in spite of the hateful anti-Negro prejudices of the more backward sections), a course of united struggle against the white capitalist masters of this country whose rule of ruthless exploitation rests upon the racial subjection of the Negro as well as upon the class subjection of the worker.

For twenty years The Crisis *has been a forum for differing opinions on the race problem. We have our own opinions and for that reason we allow others the same right.*

Honor

A Story By Lillian Beverton Mason

THERE is Venice, Italy, with gondolas and singing gondoliers, with tall spired churches and red clad priests, with palaces of old and yellowed marble and enclosed gardens with fountains of dewy, misty waters and pouting pigeons sipping on their ledges, varied colored market stands with old market women like old masterpieces; houses lichen covered with headless ghosts inside. There are skies, crystal blue and olive groves and dark eyed maidens with old ivory skins. Night—when there is singing and shapes of things in the past, Caesar and stamping soldiers and the Medici and then—there is Venice, Mississippi.

Venice, Mississippi with its mud-rucked Mississippi and patched canoes and Negro fishermen with sun-curled hair and red bandannas, singing haunting blues and moaning Baptist hymns, and shacky houses on stilts looking like boney-legged gals in short skirts; houses with tin can weather boarding and rag stuffed windows. These houses reek of the smell of fish and too many humans in one place.

Of evenings there is song, not the chant of monks, but the remnant of song of a lost race and fiddles squeak and black women, fat and unshapen, sit in doorways and look at the men who pass. Some of them have youngsters pulling at their breasts like young animals, some are smoking and some sitting silent. The stars come out and a breeze from the river stirs up the smell of fish and encircles it about and its scent reaches Magnolia as she comes wending her way down the hill, the hill that divides Upper Venice or white folks' Venice from Lower Venice or colored folks' Venice.

Magnolia coming down when Venice is singing and loving, for that is all that is left to a lost race, singing and loving, and the women who feel the men's strong arms, wish for something better and holier, but you know there is a saying in Venice among the women, "If a nigger don't get you, a white man will."

The colored men curse themselves and feel ashamed and determine to do better by their ole woman and the kids. They look up the hill and see afar the gold crosses on the churches, the houses and the schools and they think of the praying and singing and loving of white folks in clean white places and little children in clean white beds, colored nurses singing them to sleep; their own houses like pig pens and their children —a hard slap from a fat hand and "Go to sleep, devil," that was colored "chilluns'" lullaby.

But even in such humble places as Venice are bred white souls and in the muck of Venice there was a white soul, Magnolia. They do not bother with the Jones or Smith part of your name in Venice, anyway Magnolia had no Jones or Smith part. Her mother had given her to Granny Morris. Her mother had not been glad of her coming and had given her unwelcome offspring away more gladly than she would have parted with a pocket handkerchief.

Magnolia was a flower, a honey yellow flower, honey colored skin, with dark brown eyes, black curly hair, soft

and silky, and a little pink mouth with lips the pink of lucious melons, and a slim little body that carried castoff white folks' clothes like a princess. The way she held her head and the determination in her eyes, Magnolia had honor. She wasn't going to belong to any man.

Magnolia was second girl at Rippleys. Every evening when the big cook folded her hands and said, "Guess we's through," then Magnolia slipped away for a while with Gran.

Every evening at singing and loving time she came down. Past Caroline's place, where there were awful women and where Big Bill Harris banged away at rags and whose look filled her with fear. Past them all to Gran's house.

Gran's house where every evening she swept out the dirt that daily accumulated and nightly repeated her commandments of cleanliness to Gran. Gran was wizened, shriveled and asthmatic. She was old and had colds in her head, therefore it was a necessity for her to wear at least seven head rags like the proverbial seven veils. Her feet were bare; bare, black and ashy. Yet to Magnolia she was Gran. Gran who so obdurately made her all this work every evening.

"Gran don't hang the slop jar on the door jamb. It's terrible."

"Nothin' terrible about thet. Everybody knows you gotta have one."

"What's this pile of dirty little rags?"

"Empty baccy sacks. Savin' em for quilt pieces."

"Oh, Gran don't. I'll buy you some nice clean pieces for your quilts. Gran what did you take those nice curtains down for?"

'Them's too good to be usin' everyday."

Patiently she put the shack in order only to have to do the same thing the next night but Gran had been faithful to her and she wasn't going to scorn her or make fun of her.

She stayed in the hot little shack all evening, even when it was very warm, it kept the men from annoying her. They were always after her, lucious Magnolia who wasn't to be touched by men.

Granny sipped something out of a yellow cup, something draughty and black. When she was through with the draught she drew on her pipe and asked questions about Magnolia's work folks.

"You mean to say Nola, they bought forty chickens and only used the breasts! I'll tell you white folks has all the hevin they's gonna git. Has they got anything new?"

"They bought a tapestry that cost one thousand dollars to hang over the buffet."

"A thousand dolla' picture to look at while you eats! Why they's chilluns here in Venice ain't had a square meal all their lives."

"I know it Gran and I can't explain it; but theirs is a beautiful life."

Magnolia stood still, thinking and wishing things—of a school where you could go and work and where colored boys were learning about the higher things of life and learning to look at girls with honor and cleanliness. As soon as Granny was gone—but never would she leave her.

A man came to the door, breaking up the dream. "How do, Missus Morris, how you?"

He talked to Gran, but his eyes peered at Magnolia.

"I'm all right. How are you, young man?"

"Fine. Hello Nola."

The girl stiffened, did not answer.

"Stuck up ole gal ain't you? Neva mind, someday you gonna be glad to talk to a nigger."

He turned and went away. Magnolia covered Gran and started back to Ripleys.

Big Bill, tall, powerful, yellow, saw her passing and whispered a whisky scented request in her ears. She pushed him away.

"All right, all right," he answered in a surly tone, "Big Bill will get you some day."

Magnolia went on. She wanted to cry. Six long years of fending them off. Wolves! Why couldn't they learn about the school and go away and learn to honor women. She always took the street car as soon as she reached Upper Venice. There were white wolves up there.

But as spring came on, came other worries: rumors of the river rising and people having to leave, people being drowned and diseases on rampages. Gran sick and weak, refusing to budge and the water like a hungry demon, rising higher and higher. Magnolia stayed with Gran all the time now. The people in Venice were fleeing, a few every day. Gran pleaded to stay there. Pap had died there and there she was going to die. Magnolia stayed; closed the windows and doors to make the rescuers think there was no one there.

All alone in deserted Venice. Gran didn't know her now. All her talk was of Pap. Like a little child she looked, only a little child that is shriveled and old. Magnolia lifted her about like a child. Gran didn't eat anything. Magnolia wouldn't eat in another day.

The murky water rising higher, higher like a sleek and slimy monster, hundreds of feet long, it moved. Then late one afternoon Magnolia saw it with terror, the water moving under the door had formed a wide puddle on the floor. She wrapped Gran in her patch-work, a quilt of washed baccy sacks and horded calico pieces. There was no way of getting to the roof. She reached the window with her burden and sat there. The water under the door had trickled every place. The legs of the bed were covered. Her feet dangling from the window-ledge almost touched the flowing water below.

There was only miles and miles of water with partly submerged houses.

Magnolia looked down in terror at the water and in greater terror at the bundle in her arms. She couldn't pull back the quilt and see how Gran was, she would over-balance and they would both fall. The bundle grew heavy in her arms, so heavy that Magnolia thought the bones in her slim arms would crack. Gran was dead.

The yellow moon like a laughing Chinaman lit up the water and showed terrible things; things with stiff long ears—dead rabbits; things that were alive—snakes; boards, pans, a floating potted geranium and something that looked like a little child.

Magnolia screamed, but terror only made of her voice a hoarse whisper. She was sleepy. God!—but she couldn't go to sleep, but her eyes, they closed. For a minute she couldn't see the laughing moon. She shook her head. "Help! Help! Help!" and the echo was Help! Help! Help!

In spite of will she fell asleep. Numb legs, numb arms. It couldn't have been five minutes, yet it had been time enough to relax her arms and when she opened her eyes, the tiny, thin thing in the big quilt had slipped away. Magnolia swayed with sickness. She had let the body of Gran slip out of her arms into the witches caldron of thick gray waters.

THE CRISIS *seeks fiction like this—clear, realistic and frank, and yet fiction which shows the possible if not actual triumph of good and true and beautiful things. We do not want stories which picture Negro blood as a crime calling for lynching or suicide. We are quite fed up with filth and defeatism. Send us stories like this.*

She went crazy. One scream after another she emitted, each weird and distressful. She listened for an answer. She heard a piano playing. She was crazy. There was a tinkle of a piano and a man singing:

"Today, tomorrow, all the time
She's my baby, yes sir.
Brown skin gal, yellow skin gal
Slim black moma, thets my gal!
"A—you—a—me—a—you—a—me
Sittin' neath the moon all alone
A—you—a—me—a—you—a—me
Ole owl askin' who is you!"

That was Big Bill Harris playing and singing. She was crazy. There was no one in Venice but she and this monstrous river. She shrieked again.

A wooden window three houses down swung open. Big Bill poked his head out. There was a girl screaming out there somewhere. He had thought he was the only one in this "No Mans' Land." He had been drunk when the exodus took place and they had left him. He had expected to die. Sing a little and die. What was life about anyhow?

The girl was in the third house. Old Gran Morris's house. Must be Magnolia. He believed he could swim it. He shed his shoes and coat and jumped into the muddy waters. He put his immense arms up and caught the window ledge and pulled himself up beside her. He put his arms around the shrieking girl.

"Magnolia be still. What's the matter? Hush!"

The girl finally quieted. Big Bill Harris crooked up in the window, humming, quieting her and it was he who saw a boat passing, like a shadowy ghost, and hailed it.

Magnolia clung to him all the way to the refugee camp, crying and telling him about letting Gran go, and she didn't mind his arms at all,—Big Bill Harris, who played at Caroline's and never worked.

Fall, and Lower Venice almost like itself. At least Caroline's place, where Big Bill played, was open. It was Saturday night and Magnolia was leaving for school next day. She had come down to tell all she knew, goodbye. Magnolia was the first one that had ever left Venice to go away to school. She came at last to Caroline's place, the place that represented everything she hated, women without honor and Bill in there playing ragtime.

She went in. Went in Caroline's place. Bill sat at the piano. The girls looked at her. She went over and touched Bill.

"Bill, come outside. I want to tell you goodbye."

He got up, his head almost bumping the ceiling as he arose. Magnolia stood constrained.

"Bill, I am going to school but I kept thinking about you saving me and how you never tried to be friendly since, and I felt I owed you something."

Puzzled, "Owe me something,—what, little girl?"

"I thought if you wanted me to, I'd stay here with you and—be your girl."

Big Bill stood motionless. Magnolia offering to give up everything; school, honor and end up at Caroline's place! That's where she'd end up at, 'cause he knew he would never work. Magnolia blossom!

"Why — No — 'Nola," he actually stuttered, "You go on to school. If I ever has a gal, I want a college gal. You go on. You don't owe Big Bill a thing."

And the only credit Big Bill takes for himself is when they hear of some new honor that has come to Magnolia. He turns to Caroline and says, "I know a time thet girl would a went right down to the dogs, if it hadn't been for me, right down to the dogs!"

Danger in Haiti

By WALTER WHITE

The present situation in Haiti is full of danger despite the fact that the President's Commission called for evacuation by the Marines and the gradual restoration of the functions of the Haitian Government to the citizens of Haiti. There is evident determination on the part of American officials in Haiti to block this program. A recent dispatch from Washington intimated that the Marines might stay until 1942. This is an outrageous betrayal of faith. Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. has recently been visiting Haiti and writes the accompanying article.

Between now and the Presidential Campaign of 1932, American public opinion must be mobilized to free Haiti. Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover must answer to Black America on this subject and answer with great frankness if they expect Negro votes.

DURING the past month there convened at Port-au-Prince the first Haitian Congress since 1917 when the Legislature was dissolved "with the help of a few marines" because it declined to vote favorably on a Constitution written in the United States which the American Occupation sought by force to jam through the Haitian Legislature.

This new Legislature, the first in fourteen years, is to a man made up of individuals unequivocally opposed to the continuance of the Occupation. In the assembling of this legislature and in the sentiment which pervades the island there impends a crisis in Haitian-American affairs. The Forbes and Moton Commissions, sent to Haiti in 1930 at the request of President Hoover, have served immeasurably to revive Haitian hopes of restoration of sovereignty, and, at least partially, to restore faith in the integrity of the motives behind the American Occupation.

There is, however, a grave danger that certain American forces may defeat all that has been done during the past two years. It is certain that should these forces prevail we may look not only for dark days in Haiti with perhaps bloodshed, but for an intensification of hatred for the United States throughout the Caribbean because of continued abuses in Haiti

These forces in Haiti and in the United States, in seeking to defeat the recommendations of the Forbes and Moton Commissions and to frustrate the wishes of President Hoover, reason somewhat in this fashion. They believe that continued defeat of President Hoover at the hands of Congress and the widespread economic depression make it doubtful that the Republicans will renominate Mr. Hoover. If he is renominated, these individuals believe, the Democrats will nominate Franklin Roosevelt. Since Governor Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1915 when the United States seized the Haitian Government, and since Mr. Roosevelt is reputed to have played a major role in the seizure he will not lend a sympathetic ear, should he be elected President, to any suggestion that the American Occupation be ended prior to 1936, the expiration date of the present treaty, and may perhaps be induced to take steps to extend the Occupation beyond 1936.

Such reasoning may or may not be fantastic. At any rate it is certain that many Americans now in Haiti believe such a procedure to be reasonably certain. These same forces are counting upon keeping down any criticism of or publicity on the Occupation until after 1932. And they feel certain that if they do not have support for such a program in the White House that they do have such support in the United States Department of State.

The reasoning and the action of this element are potent in keeping from the American public all that is going on in Haiti. The grosser abuses, such as the slaughter during the early days of the Occupation of upwards of three thousand Haitians who, opposing and fighting against seizure of their country were labeled "cacos" or bandits, no longer exist. There is, however, almost absolute control by the American financial advisers and by the heads of the various Services of the finances of Haiti, which situation is most galling to Haitians. With this control there has been a polite but persistent ignoring of the Haitian Government and of the leaders of Haitian public opinion, despite the fact that the funds expended are from the Haitian treasury.

An instance of this American attitude may be clearly seen in the so-called Duncan affair which occurred while the writer was in Port-au-Prince recently. Colonel Duncan is head of the Department of Public Works of Haiti. The Haitian Constitution provides that the President of the Republic shall have the right to appoint to public office important functionaries. During the administrations of d'Artiguenave and Borno, between 1915 and 1930, this and other provisions of the Constitution of Haiti were ignored. This was especially true during the regime of Borno, the puppet President of Haiti who responded always with alacrity to the pulling of strings by the Occupation. Following the recommendations of the Forbes Commission, however, a free election was held in 1930 and as a result M. Stenio Vincent, an able and brilliant Haitian of wide experience and a relentless foe of the Occupation, was elected to the Presidency. Upon assuming office President Vincent sought to obey the express mandates of the Haitian Constitution and Laws for his country. He began to issue commissions as prescribed to important government officials.

Among these was the Chef de Bureau, the Chief Accountant and the Chief Archivist of the Department of Public Works. The three individuals to whom these commissions were issued were not new men in these places but had served in their important positions with entire satisfaction to the Occupation for from eleven to thirteen years. Duncan refused to transmit the commissions and returned them to President Vincent with a curt note stating to M. Vincent that the President had the right only to issue a commission to Duncan as head of the Bureau.

A tense impasse immediately resulted. Dana Munro, United States Minister to Haiti and former Chief of the Latin-American Division of the Department of State who had recently replaced Brigadier General Russell as High Commissioner, upon the recommendation of the Forbes Commission, upheld Duncan. Consultation of the law, however, revealed that President Vincent was entirely within his rights and Duncan, Minister Munro and the American Occupation generally were placed in a most embarrassing position, especially when the facts were made public in the Haitian press which in turn resulted in a strike of all Haitian employees of the Department of Public Works.

The chronic inability of the Occupation to understand or to have a regard for the amenities was seen when Duncan, confronted with the Constitution, was forced to transmit the commissions to the three sub-officials. In his letter of transmittal instead of writing "in accordance with the Haitian Constitution," or "in accordance with the instructions of President Vincent," he wrote "in accordance with the instructions of the American Minister" which discourtesy further inflamed Haitian sentiment.

Discussion by the writer of this situation with the American Minister

brought the statement from Mr. Munro that "we are responsible for things down here and as long as we are, we are not going to permit politics to enter into appointments to office." Inquiry of Mr. Munro as to how politics entered into this situation in that the officials to whom commissions were issued had held their posts for years with entire satisfaction to the Occupation, brought no satisfactory response. High hopes had been held that Mr. Munro would be a great improvement in his handling of the situation over his predecessor, General Russell. The Duncan affair, however, seems definitely to have crushed such hopes.

It should be remembered that Haiti is a small and poor country. Unquestionably the Haitian Government, prior to the American Occupation, has made mistakes and there has been graft during certain administrations as well as some bloodshed. The Haitian press, however, features gang murders, lynching, political corruption and graft in American life and points out, with much logic and justification, that it would be far wiser for the United States to clean up its own country before it attempts through force to tell other nations how they should manage their internal affairs.

This feeling is all the more aggravated by the inefficiency of the so-called "experts" sent to Haiti by the United States. Many of the "experts" are poorly trained and wholly unfitted for the posts which they hold. Large sums of money from the Haitian treasury have been expended by these men, especially in the Service Technique and in the Department of Public Works. While salaries which would not be exorbitant in the United States but which are far out of proportion to the Haitian capacity to pay, are paid these experts, Haitian citizens, trained in some of the finest schools of France, Germany, England and Switzerland are given ridiculously inadequate salaries for minor positions or forced to leave Haiti to find employment in some other country.

A case in point of ineptitude of this sort may be seem in the two Magasins de l'Etat, warehouses built near the landing pier at Port-au-Prince. These were constructed in 1928 at considerable cost to the Haitian Government. The American in charge of construction was urged by Haitians working under him to construct adequate foundations for these buildings, but their pleas were to no avail. As a result the storing of goods in the building has resulted, as the writer himself saw, in the sinking of the floors of the building of approximately eighteen inches. The concrete floors have badly cracked, as have the walls. These buildings are a standing joke in Haiti and, as one commentator remarked, could be used most effectively by turning water into them as a swimming pool for the employees of the Magasins de l'Etat.

Another instance where large sums have been expended from the Haitian treasury without results is in the notorious Service Technique. Much money has been expended on schools which in a number of instances are not at all suited to the needs or to the climate of Haiti, a case in point being the Damien school which has been occupied only by the teachers since 1929 as the result of a strike of the students which is still in progress. Eighty per cent of the Haitian budget for education is controlled by the Occupation and not only Haitians but Americans connected with other Services are bitter in their comments upon the wasting of money by the Service Technique. In this Service particularly very little progress is being made towards Haitianization and but little more to this end is being done in the Gendarmerie, or constabulary, despite the sharp criticism of the failure to Haitianize the constabulary which was made in the report of the Forbes Commission.

The sole contribution to the welfare of Haiti during the seventeen years of the American Occupation which meets with Haitian approval is that of the Department of Public Health which has done notable work in the establishment of dispensaries and clinics, in improvement of hospitals and in raising health standards of the country. Even the most bitter Haitian critics of the Occupation speak in glowing terms of the Service d'Hygiene. In more temperate terms is approval given to the organization of the constabulary which has aided greatly in bringing peace to Haiti. In this connection, however, a significant admission was made by one of the American officials that there is no intention of teaching physics and higher mathematics to the Haitians, knowledge of which is absolutely essential in modern warfare, because "we may have to come down here again sometime and if these Haitians know too much about the use of modern guns it might cost us too much."

The tragedy of the Haitian situation is that the steps which have been taken during President Hoover's administration towards getting out of Haiti may be blocked by those who do not want such a course to succeed. Distorted reports and untrue pictures of the present state of affairs are being used to lead astray thought at the White House, in the United States Department of State and in the United States generally. Haitians do not repudiate all American aid, but they do resent continued occupancy of their country and the denial of their cherished sovereignty by the United States. Their smoldering resentment is constantly kept alive and inflamed by the swaggering, dictatorial attitude of the Americans, many of whom are consciously or unconsciously imbued with a sense of their own racial superiority. It is to be regretted that the United States ever went into Haiti. It is equally to be regretted that since we are there that many of our representatives there should be intellectually and in other ways infinitely inferior in culture to most of the upper-class Haitians and in kindliness, courtesy and other ways inferior to Haitians of all classes.

It is impossible wholly to restore American prestige in Haiti or the Caribbean. Much, however, can be done towards at least partial restoration of good will should the United States of its own volition take steps to end the Occupation now instead of waiting until the expiration of the present treaty in 1936 which the Haitians, with ample facts to prove their contentions, assert was never properly ratified and was forced upon the Haitian Government by superior armed strength of the United States.

Immediate withdrawal with, if necessary, the concession of leaving one American observer in each of the major Services would not only help to restore American prestige in Haiti but would help measurably in easing the great bitterness and hostility towards the United States throughout the Caribbean and in South and Central America. "Has the American eagle become a vulture?" at present expresses in the minds of many Haitians their feeling towards continuance of the Occupation. Certain financial interests, among them the National City Bank, are chiefly responsible for our presence in Haiti and the continuance of the Occupation. The question may well be asked as to whether or not this greed for profits of these financial interests shall be allowed to add to the already overwhelming hatred of all things American which exists in the countries to the south of us. This hatred and this suspicion of the motives of the United States for penetration into these countries may or may not be wholly justified. Nevertheless they do exist as any inquirer, no matter how casual his questioning, may ascertain by a visit to any of these countries and particularly to Haiti. Because of the wide publicity which has been given to the Occupation of Haiti the situation there looms up as perhaps the major test of the sincerity of the motives of the United States. Voluntary withdrawal of the Occupation would unquestionably do much towards not only preventing further troubles in Haiti, but would demonstrate as nothing else would to other countries that the purposes of American interference are not imperialistic.

Black Wings

By PIERRE LOVING

THE biographer who assumes an air of sacrosanct patronage toward his helpless subject is not unlike Voltaire's Western philosopher who had set himself the task of writing a Universal History, without knowledge of the achievements of China and India. The pundit confessed, when questioned by a Chinese sage, that he had no idea that history existed before the time of the Greeks or the Jews. In the present book, "Dumas, Father and Son," Mr. Gribble takes a holier-than-thou stand, showing that there are vast territories of human behavior that are quite alien to him. Mr. Gribble is not only fastidiously moral—a virtue which he seems secretly to regret, for he loses no occasion to prank out his sex passages in as delectable a style as possible—but he has an irritating habit of condescending to races other than his own. His ethnology is founded on a prejudice; and prejudice, I believe, is most likely to rear up in the man who is not wholly sure of his knowledge, who is perhaps running a little mercer shop alongside his biographical undertaking—a little bargain-shop of morality and pompous self-assertion.

If Mr. Gribble were open-minded, his Universal History of the two Dumas' would not have turned out, as it obviously is, an accusatory document. The author feels called upon to prosecute, and his case rests on the elder Dumas's licentiousness and his color; the licentiousness being apparently a result of the color. In page after page Mr. Gribble induces atmosphere by absurd references to Uncle Tom, the cake-walk and African sensuality. Of General Dumas, the Napoleonic staff officer and founder of the name, he tells us, for example, that "he was as goodlooking as it is possible for a quadroon to be." Whenever Dumas the elder performs some notoriously unmoral act or makes some rather flamboyant, unconventional gesture, Mr. Gribble brings in his reference to the "cake-walk," the invariable symbol of racial inferiority as manifested in Dumas's career. It is wellnigh impossible, indeed, to keep back a guffaw when the wickedness of Dumas is traced to his unregenerate blood; just as if no white man in France, England or America had ever danced the "cake-walk" of sex ostentatiously, with careless indulgence, or even with happy gargantuan indifference.

As to Mr. Gribble's ethnology, the example of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the hero of Mr. Waxman's biography, disproves it beyond further challenge. Mr. Waxman has carefully documented his account of the black Emancipator's life, and he has given us a most sympathetic and engrossing chronicle of the rise and fall of a truly great man. Toussaint was a slave in San Domingo until the age of forty. Through his native intelligence and love of reading he gradually rose to the highly enviable status of his master's—coachman! We can today scarcely imagine what it meant to the ill-favored, tall, black dreamer not to be harried and herded with his fellow-slaves into the fields every morning when the sun rose. As a coachman he enjoyed a fair margin of leisure to continue his reading and his studies. What was far more important, he could listen to the stimulating conversation of his white masters, and thus acquire a vicarious acquaintance with the larger world. It was the French Revolution and its echoes that thrust upon him his first big chance. By an unflagging perseverance, rectitude and loyalty to his principles, he won the confidence of the blacks, rose to a position in the army, finally became Governor-General of the island. Unlike Dessalines and Christophe, his two staff officers, he never betrayed the cause of Negro emancipation. With 4000 men, it is true, he once went over to the side of Spain; but that was only because he held this piece of strategy to be favorable to his cause, the freedom of the Negro slaves. There is no record that he sinned against his principle, the sole principle by which he lived and finally perished, in a harsh, snow-bound dungeon-keep high in the Swiss mountains, a victim of Napoleon's pride and unscrupulous ambition.

In Mr. Waxman's vivid story we encounter much that throws light on the whole question of African slavery. The author's unsparing pictures of white cruelty, impelled by insane greed, often make one's flesh creep. The French capitalists had coldbloodedly decided that the colonies could not be made to pay without Negro slavery; and Napoleon badly needed the support of the French bankers, Rights of Man or not. It was necessary, therefore, that Bonaparte get rid of Toussaint at all costs; so he sent his brother-in-law Leclerc with 20,000 men and a small fleet to arrest the Liberator. The fiendish carnage that resulted, and which Mr. Waxman graphically portrays, will horrify the sensitive reader. Perhaps he ought to be harrowed and purged. Toussaint voluntarily gave up his command and sought to retire peacefully to his plantation with his wife and children, but the treachery of Napoleon pursued him and he was finally apprehended by means of a cowardly ruse and shipped to France. Once there he could not wring an audience from the vindictive Napoleon. Carefully guarded, he was taken to Fort de Joux; and in a damp, miserable cell, with only a small barred window to let in a tiny patch of sky, he there died of a combination of heartache, cold, starvation and pleural pneumonia.

Somehow, the voice of Freedom—as if that flamboyant personification had a real entity—coming through the writings of the philosophers, had touched with its breath this humble slave, in whose veins ran not a drop of white blood. It is said that he never learned classic French and always wrote and talked in *patois;* and perhaps this is why his recorded speeches, although corrected by secretaries, contain a beautiful and humble eloquence. The man is a remarkable symbol. It is not too much to say that his legend needs no art, and that time has not effaced the lights and shadows. His story can stand far closer probing today, without loss of glamor or prestige, than can most others which have survived in human memory.

DUMAS, FATHER AND SON, BY FRANCIS GRIBBLE. *New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.00.*

THE BLACK NAPOLEON, BY PERCY WAXMAN. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.*

This review was written by the author of "The Gardener of Evil", that excellent portrait of Baudelaire and his times. Mr. Loving wrote this review originally for the New Freeman, which to our great distress, has ceased publication. We are permitted, therefore, to publish this review for the first time.

THE POET'S PAGE

Spring

By WINIFRED NORRIS

THERE is something in the air,
Tells my blood that Spring is here,
Gives me just a jolly song
And I sing it all day long.
In the sky, like mystic light,
Joyous birds are taking flight.
Now I see it in the trees,
As the leaves dance in the breeze;
Bursting buds like fairy dreams,
Peeping twixt the gold sunbeams.
Weeds and bees and crystal rain
Come prancing in with Spring again.

So Strange

By HELENE E. WIDGEON

SO strange
The things we say
At night,
That seem so alien
With the day,
That loom
Before us like
Wild beasts
In leering scoff
Upon their prey.
Oh, night,
Why do you curse me so,
That lips must lie
And hearts beguile?
So strange
The things we say
At night,
And then, a laugh,
A kiss—a smile.

Worship

(Acts 17:24)

By STEPHEN GILL SPOTTSWOOD

HIS temple is the universe,
His altars are the hills,
His incense is the firemist,
His Priest—my spirit thrills!

No church confines the God who made
The world of cosmic leaven;
Out in the open, O my soul—
Worship the God of Heaven.

Night's Protege

By MARJORIE E. MARSHALL

CHILD of bewitching night—
Ah, but she is exquisite!
Her soft gold-amber fingers
Curl back like tender petals
And clinging softly linger
Lightly, on her pulsing lips.

Lass of enchanting light—
Ah, but she is exquisite!
Her eyes of melted night
Mirror the star-gleam lurking,
In curls of dark-delight
Throbbing with an angels kiss.

When I Am Dead

By MABEL O. KEEMER

UPON the four winds
Mayhap this blood and bone
Will dance,—ecstatic atoms in the lone
Shiver of ether,—
When I am dead.

Or in dividing clefts of waters,
This body cleft from soul
May seek its ocean,
Feeding mortal souls
Along that unknown shore,
With life's last corruption,—
When I am dead.

Perhaps these ruined ganglia
Will rack the earthy glebe
With echoes, vague reincarnations
Of human woe and pain,
Or give a tumble-bug new vigor
To wheel his ball of dung,—
When I am dead.

Perchance this soul of mine
Will reach the fiery haven,
That blissful pain and fevered pleasure
Longed for here below,
By gurgling up from clayey bed
In Mount Vesuvius' vomit,—
Attain its final consummation
In the purging lava's heat,
Then cast above the far-off lands
A sickly spell of yellow vapor,
Index of defeat,—
When I am dead.

Perhaps!—For only *this* is sure:
My heart will crumble into beds of peat,
And come at last unto your fireside,
To taste of Hades' anguish and Elysium's joy
Upon a lighted hearth,—
In warming two chill hands,
In kindling in two eyes a glowing dream,—
When I am dead!

April 16th, 1916

By BATTELL LOOMIS

MOTHER, you have put Quality before me
Ever as a mirror into which I must look
There to behold myself a laureled one,
And garlanded with Grace inherited.
You have spun symbols for my thought to couch upon:
Blood and Culture, Pride and Family,
Gentleman, Born and Bred—
Hence I must breed myself of life, yet with it not—
Aloof to dwell in ever scorning pity of the boor.
Your Self, exemplary, has stood my guide,
My counsel 'fore a world of vulgar selves;
But, Mother, I by counsel of a heart you knew not of
Have strayed,
Have sought for honor fields of happiness
(And lust is not in these, nor carnalness
That folds the form nor cares what pulses there)
Freedom have I sought from urgencies
Of fancy, not divine in yearning not
That brothers on this globe are not, as we,
Wed by the bond of Birth to Nobleness.
So, Mother, have I failed you as your son,
Yet my laurels, if I wear them all awry,
Have budded into genuineness with Life.
Her have I touched, Men have I sought
(In seeking Quality) and Men have found
Unlustered of Tradition, who yet shine with Truth—
New symbols have I earned: Courage, Strength,
Earnestness of hope, Denial of true needs
For Others' sake . . .
I these have earned, impartial wisdom knows,
By blood and culture, pride and gentleness:
The things you prize and think I do not prize.
Yet Scorn have I not ensconced in scorn's one place
To be a light to fright the ghouls that rise
From Appetite that spawns in fecund gloom:
Your counsel still betrays my flesh to creep
When certain viprous men invade my soul:
Then acid shrieks and shivers on my teeth
Though these are piteous past the spur of scorn!
I would, my Mother, you had taught me less
The coldness of gentility . . .
And yet am glad Heredity has found my heart
To link me close to many and divers friends.
For Happiness is Friendship, in this life.
As Friendship is too big to base in caste,
So Happiness is Quality's great proof.

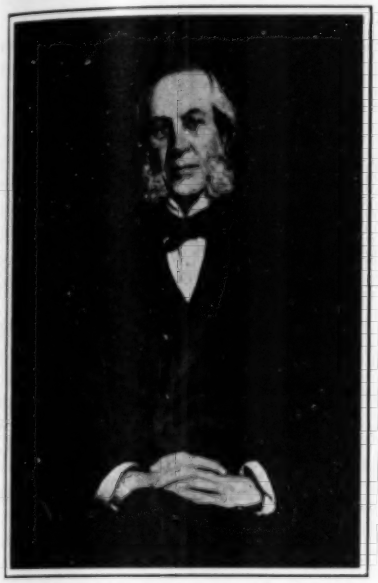
While All May Wonder

By HELNA ISSEL

I CRY goodbye to you, the Transient Thing
Which was myself before the new road made
My feet light with the hurry of the Spring,
My heart light with the daring price it paid.

There is no good like giving all for this:
For walking by your side with laughing face,
While all may wonder that we two should kiss,
Who only see the shackles of your Race.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE



John F. Slater

AMERICA

At Yale Divinity School a Conference of representative Negro ministers has just been held. There were in attendance approximately twenty-four delegates from Negro churches and educational institutions in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee; also from the District of Columbia and from one foreign country. Outstanding leaders among the Negroes were brought in to lead discussions, such as Dr. G. E. Haynes of the Federal Council of Churches, Mr. Mays of the Institute of Social and Religious Surveys, Dr. H. H. Proctor of the Congregational Church, and A. Phillip Randolph, the General Secretary of the Pullman Porters' Union.

In the whole United States, the number of divorces granted in 1929 was 201,468, an increase of 2.8% over 1928. This is at the rate of 163 divorces for each 1,000 marriages, and is a tremendous increase over 1890, when the rate was 59; 1900, when the rate was 79; 1910, when the rate was 88; and 1920 when the rate was 134.

The Slater Fund has published its report for 1930. On May 18, 1882, John F. Slater of Connecticut transferred to a Board of Trustees the sum of $1,000,000 to help Negro education. From then through September, 1930, the Board has expended $3,498,714. The Board reports 384 county training schools in thirteen states which it has aided. The Slater Fund and the General Education Board furnished $130,508 for these and public tax funds furnished $2,358,565.

In the laundry industry of the United States, a survey of 23 cities made by the Department of Labor, shows that two in every five women workers were colored. The colored women were considerably younger than the white women employees and over 40% of them were married. The median weekly wage reported was $14.65: White women received $16.10; and Negro women $8.85.

The opportunity to attend Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, N. Y., offered last year to readers of THE CRISIS, is being renewed this year. Of the four Negroes who were at Brookwood last year, two learned of the school through THE CRISIS, Alexander Moody, a lumber worker from New Orleans, and Henry Lee Moon, a graduate of Howard and Ohio State Universities, who was assistant to the secretary of Tuskegee Institute before coming to Brookwood. The others—Bernice McMurray, an elevator operator from Indianapolis, and Florence Nelson, a Cleveland dressmaker, had been active in industrial groups of the Young Women's Christian Association, Miss Nelson being chairman of the Camp Gray regional council.

Brookwood, which has just completed its tenth year as a resident school for industrial workers, is particularly interested in the problems of exploited groups of workers, including Negroes. During the decade, nine young colored men and women have studied economics, labor problems, trade union organization, English, public speaking, journalism, psychology, economic geography, and labor history in company with white workers of diverse nationalities and trades, and are now teachers or leaders of local Negro groups. Among these graduates are Vivian Garth, industrial Y.W.C.A. secretary in Baltimore; Floria Pinkney, organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers; Thomas Dabney, principal of the Buckingham Training School at Ellerson, Va.; Romania Ferguson, an upholstery worker from Chicago; and Florence Baker of the International Ladies' Garment Workers in Philadelphia.

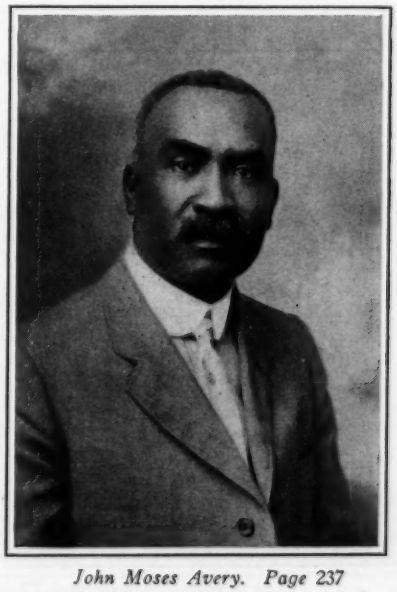
Among the Rosenwald Fellowships for research and creative work, awards have been made to Monroe Work, Clarence Cameron White, W. Edward Scott, Augusta Savage, James Weldon Johnson, John Work, D. O. W. Holmes, W. E. B. Du Bois, Henry A. Hunt and Richard Barthé. Fifty other recipients were given grants for study along the line of special subjects.

During the Penn Relays held at Philadelphia, Pa., May 1st and 2nd, Williams of Hampton Institute, Beatty of Michigan Normal, Brown of Ohio State, Utterback of Pittsburgh, Brown of Dewitt Clinton High School, and members of the team of Bordentown scored as individual winners, or in school teams.

The Office of Education of the Department of the Interior is making a survey of high schools among Negroes. The survey is being conducted by Dr. Ambrose Caliver who is doing field work in the Border States, and who will visit the Southwest and Far West in the fall.

Marian Anderson, the gifted contralto, has sung in twenty-six concerts during 1931, covering 15 states. She has just sailed for Europe where she will study during the summer and give a concert tour of four months in the fall.

Roland Hayes delivered forty-four concerts during the past season, covering the whole country. In the period from 1923–1931, he has given in the United States 379 recitals in thirty-nine states and Canada, and including eighteen universities and colleges. It is estimated by his manager that during the last year, he sang to seventy-five thousand people. His eighth tour is already well booked and will begin early in October.



John Moses Avery. *Page 237*

Paul Robeson made a concert tour in the United States, lasting from January 10 to April 16, and consisting of thirty-four concerts. The management estimates that he sang to one hundred thousand people.

THE EAST

The first prize of $100, for excellence in pulpit delivery has been awarded to Harry B. Richardson by the Theological School at Harvard University.

Lincoln R. Hines is Captain in command of the second company of the 3rd regiment in Boston schools. In a recent drill battalion his company won first place, and he has been promoted to the rank of a major.

At Mt. Holyoke College, under the leadership of the Secretary of the college "Y", a group of students have launched a campaign for raising a scholarship fund of $10,000. This fund is for the exclusive benefit of colored students who wish to study at Mt. Holyoke. Enough money has already been gathered to make available a scholarship for the coming year.

Mrs. Georgine Kelley Smith is dead at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and for ten years conducted an inter-racial community center at Poughkeepsie under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A. She was assisted by thirty students from Vassar and had the sympathy of the community. The Poughkeepsie *Eagle-News* says editorially: "She brought to her people a new light and to the general public a better understanding and truer sympathy with their problems and aspirations. In the Center, she accomplished amazing good."

The James Weldon Johnson Literary Guild is offering $200 in prizes to encourage the writing of poetry for and by Negro children. There are three prizes amounting to $50 for adults and nine prizes amounting to $150 for children. Manuscripts should be addressed to Miss Roberta Bosley, 488 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City, between June 15 and December 15.

James Weldon Johnson. Page 242
After the Portrait by Amy E. Spingarn.

The Institute of Musical Art of the Julliard School of Music, of which Frank Damrosch is Dean, held its graduating exercises May 30 at the McMillin Academic Theatre of Columbia University. Among the graduates were Mrs. Charlotte Wallace Murray and Elizabeth Sinkford, both in singing. The graduates sang "The Mikado," with Mrs. Murray as "Katisha" and Carl Diton as "The Mikado." All the other participants were white. Those who know the operetta will realize what a triumph over race prejudice this event was. It was beautifully done and enthusiastically received.

The Fourth Annual Convention of the New York State Elks was held in New York City, May 30 to June 3 with Edward W. Simons acting as chairman of the general committee. Meetings were addressed by J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler, and Conrad Strassburg, representative of the mayor. One of the features of the convention was the annual state oratorical contest which was won by Susie A. Robinson of Brooklyn, N. Y., with Wilhelmina Burns, New York City, second, and Elizabeth Millner of New Rochelle, N. Y., third.

Dr. Agnes O. Griffin who is already a member of the staff of the Kingston Avenue Hospital, and the medical clinic at the Skin and Cancer Hospital in New York City has been appointed to the staff of the medical clinic of Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

The Beaux Arts Club of North Jersey, a Little Theatre group, has presented two one-act plays in Montclair, N. J. The plays were successfully given for two successive nights.

Justice of the Peace, Joseph E. Scotland, Keeper of Records in the County Clerk's office at Newark, N. J., has begun his sixth term. Each term is for five years and he has held office since 1900.

THE SOUTHEAST

Virginus D. Johnston was born in Virginia in 1896 and is a son of the first President of Virginia State College. He was educated there and at Northwestern University, serving overseas during the world war in the 367th Infantry, and since 1921 has been in the insurance business; first, as auditor of the Supreme Life at Columbus, Ohio,

The Harlem Experimental Theatre in a Scene From "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," an Original Play by Regina Andrews

Preston Taylor

and for the last seventeen years as Secretary of the Victory Life in Chicago. Beginning March 2, Mr. Johnston began work at Howard University as Budget Director. He will supervise expenditures against the different appropriations, prepare estimates, and compile data on the needs of the University to be submitted to Congress and to the various education funds.

John Moses Avery was born in North Carolina 54 years ago and died March 3. He was educated at Kittrell College and in 1903 became an agent of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. In 1907, he was called to the Home Office as Assistant to the Manager and began his fine work of helping to organize this company. He became Vice President in 1919 and had charge of the agents' force. In 1923, he carried $111,500 worth of life insurance. A part of this matured as endowment but he had $52,500 worth of life insurance at the time of his death.

John W. Bunch was born in North Carolina in 1884 and educated in the public schools and at Bennett College. He came to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and in 1910 was appointed Court Officer by the Presiding Judge of the 11th Judicial District, a position which he has held ever since. He has one son at Temple University who is noted as an athlete.

Edward A. Harleston, artist and re-cent Harmon prize winner, died at Charleston, South Carolina, May 10, 1931. He was a graduate of Atlanta University and studied at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for six years.

Garfield B. Muse, a forty-five year old brakeman of Okeeffe, Virginia, received a bronze medal from the Carnegie Hero Fund, for saving the life of a white child.

Miss Sara E. Reid, a student at the Atlanta School of Social Work and a graduate of West Virginia State College, class 1930, has received a scholarship for six months' study at the International Peoples College at Elsinore, Denmark. Miss Reid, who received this honor on the recommendation of Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, will study adult education and co-operatives. Following her study at the Peoples College, she will travel in Germany, France and England. She sailed recently on the Steamer United States of the Scandinavian Line.

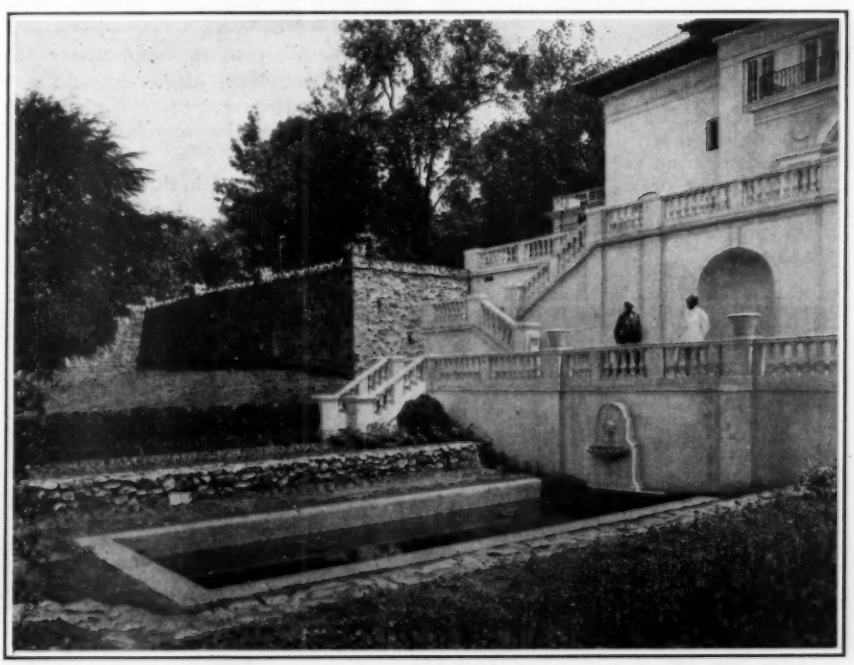
The Fort Valley, Georgia, girls won the Ramsey Memorial trophy for the second time at the Tuskegee relay races. The team was composed of the Misses Sibley, Johnson, Jones and Peyton. Miss Broadnax was second in the discus throw and Miss Ragin reached the finals of the 100-yard dash. The team was coached by Frank Horne.

THE MIDDLE SOUTH

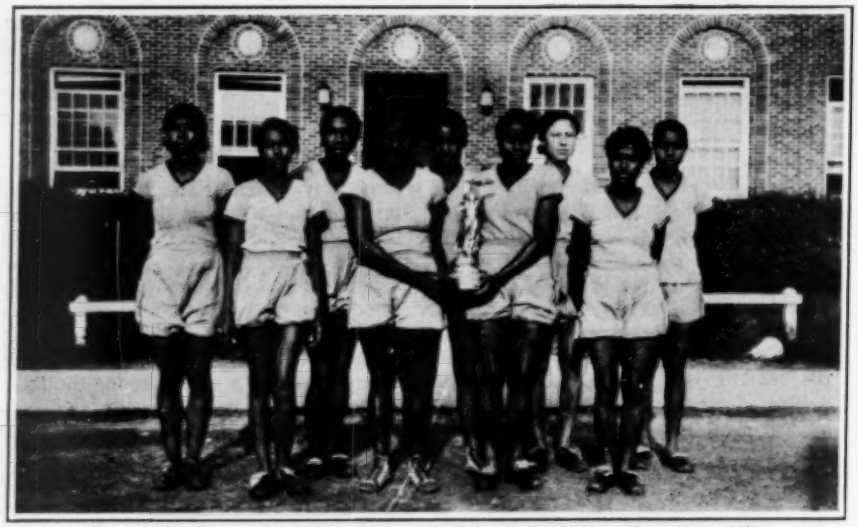
M. S. Stewart, General Manager of the Universal Life Insurance Company of Memphis, Tennessee, was elected President of the National Negro Insurance Association at its eleventh annual session in Hot Springs, Arkansas.

Preston Taylor, who died in April at Nashville, was born in Louisiana in 1849. His family was owned as slaves by the brother of President Zachary Taylor. They moved to Kentucky where at the time of the Civil War he enlisted as a drummer boy in Company G of the 116th Infantry. He was at the siege of Richmond, the battle of Petersburg, and the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. Then his regiment did garrison duty in Texas and he was mustered out in New Orleans. After the war he worked on a Mississippi river boat, and then learned the stone cutters' trade at Louisville. Afterward, he became a train porter but finally realized his ambition to enter the ministry and became pastor of the Christian Church at Mt. Sterling, Kentucky. He rose rapidly in the denomination and at the same time was widely influential as a citizen. Once he took contract and completed two miles of difficult railroad when there was a strike among the Irish laborers. The president of the railroad, the late Colis P. Huntington, tried to keep him in the contracting business but Taylor stuck to the ministry. He came to Nashville in 1885 and stayed there until his death, adding the undertaking business to his many activities. When he died he owned the largest business of this kind in Nashville and manufactured his own caskets. He built the Lea Avenue Church; founded and built Greenwood Cemetery of 150 acres and founded Greenwood Park, for which just before his death he refused $150,000. He contributed to African missions, gave away hundreds of thousands of dollars in charity and helped many colored persons to buy houses and erect business buildings. He was buried in his own cemetery and his funeral was a pageant.

Warner Lawson, son of R. Au-gustus Lawson, the notable Hartford pianist, recently gave a piano recital at Fisk University. Mr. Lawson is a graduate of Yale in music and has studied with Schnabel of Berlin.



Rear View of Villa Lewaro on Madam Walker's Estate at Irvington, New York



Girls Relay Team, Ft. Valley H. and I. School, Ft. Valley, Ga. Page 237

THE MIDDLE WEST

December 7, 1930, a new colored Y. M. C. A. building was dedicated at Toledo. It cost $203,000 and is of the English manor type of construction. There are 47 dormitory rooms, a gymnasium, swimming pool, cafeteria, lunch counter, billiard room, separate lobby for men and boys, lockers and showers. The interior is of California stucco with Sanitas walls in the dormitories.

This building is the first of four new buildings which are to be built in Toledo as the result of a $1,500,000 expansion campaign held in 1928 by the whole City Association system. Herbert T. Miller is the Secretary.

Frank Clegg is a member of the Missouri House of Representatives in the Third District from St. Louis. He was born in Texas in 1892 and educated in the public schools. For twenty-six years he was a railroad worker for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company, beginning as messenger and being promoted to train caller, section fireman, train porter and porter in the private car of the Vice President. He studied law under Judge J. G. Blaine and was admitted to the Bar in 1923.

Charles A. Roxborough is the second Negro State Senator to be elected in the United States. He was born in Louisiana in 1888 and educated in the public schools of Detroit and the Detroit College of Law, where he graduated in 1914. For a while, he was messenger to the Governor of Michigan; then oil inspector, and finally was elected Senator last year from the Third Senatorial District. He is the first Negro Senator in the State and the only Negro member of the Legislature for thirty years. His Civil Rights Bill passed the Senate in April without a dissenting voice and is known as the Roxborough Bill.

Edwin B. Jourdain, Managing Editor of the *Chicago Bee,* was elected an alderman in Evanston, Illinois, by a total of 1,890 votes.

Lois Morton, a sophomore at Bloomington, Ill., High School, won first prize for the Senior High Group in the finals of the interclass oratorical contest.

At Waukegan, Ill., during the April elections, Earl H. Gray, an attorney, became alderman through a plurality of 406 votes over his opponent.

FAR WEST

In the annual High School Music festival of Iowa City held in May, Irvin White, Fred Thomas, Ralson Patten and Julian Mason, colored students, were members of the championship glee club which was awarded first prize among many hundreds of contestants.

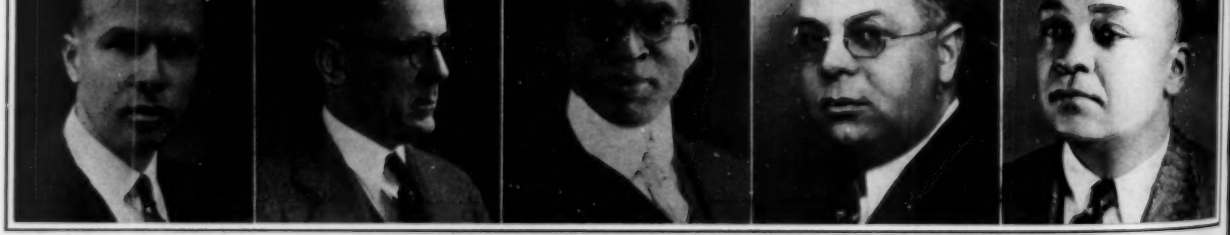
Emmett Smith, a junior at Venice High School, Venice, Calif, was winner in the annual oratorical contest at Redland University by unanimous decision. Twenty-seven representatives of other schools of southern California competed.

Members of twenty-eight Indian tribes in southern California met at Romona, Indian village, California, and protested the passage of a "Jim Crow" law which would segregate Indians and Mexicans while traveling, and bar them from public eating places.

AFRICA

For a time during the 19th Century black men held high positions in British West Africa, and there was an African resident of Kumasi, Rowland Cole was Post Master-General of the Gold Coast, Judge Smith was Acting Chief Justice, and Mr. McCarthy, Solicitor-General. In Nigeria there was the black Bishop Crowther, and in Sierra Leone, Sir Samuel Lewis. In the 20th Century it is very seldom that black men get high appointments. For instance, C. E. Woolhouse Bannerman, a colored police magistrate of the Gold Coast has repeatedly acted as Puisne Judge but has never received permanent appointment.

Edwin Barclay, who was Secretary of State in Liberia, under President Charles D. B. King, and who has been Acting President since the latter resigned, was elected President at a recent election. James S. Smith was made Vice President. The United States is still withholding recognition of the new President. Three experts have sailed for Liberia representing the League of Nations: R. E. Brunot, Mynheir Lighthart, and Dr. Melville D. MacKenzie. They will study and advise as to administration, finance and health.



V. D. Johnston Page 236 | *M. S. Stuart.* Page 237 | *John W. Bunch.* Page 237 | *Charles A. Roxborough* | *Frank Clegg*

Edwin W. Barclay. Page 238

Dr. J. B. Danequah is about to issue a daily paper called the *West African Times* on the Gold Coast. It will be eight pages and will sell for two cents, If it succeeds, it will be the second Negro daily in Africa.

The serious economic crisis is felt in the Belgian Congo and is indicated by a heavy fall in prices and a labor shortage. The Government is planning to relieve the Belgian investors of part of their taxes.

In Uganda, the 1930 revenue was $500,000 short because of the poor cotton crop. Nevertheless, at the end of 1931 there will probably be a surplus of $5,000,000, balance and reserve. A loan of $10,000,000 will probably be floated in London to pay off existing loans and for development. Or in other words, a mortgage for an indefinite time will be placed upon the labor and industry of this colony.

In the South African Parliament, Mr. Eaton appealed to the members not to be afraid to educate native children. The present provision is inadequate and reveals a sad state of affairs when compared with primary education among whites. Even the special taxation levied on natives is used only to a slight degree for their education. The Minister for Native Affairs explained that since 1921 the cost of native education had doubled and that probably the whole matter would have to be turned over to the Union instead of being dealt with by the Provinces.

Native chieftains who rule ten thousand black folk in East Africa visited the House of Lords in London, England in April. They were in European clothes and presented a plea to the Parliamentary Committee which is studying the closer union between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. The senior chief was Koinange. His words were grave and beautiful:

"I think of the British Government as my father. But my mother is the land where I was born. I want my father to realize that his children are oppressed." The natives demand admission to the legislative councils.

EUROPE

Nancy Cunard of Paris, France, is gathering material for a new book on "color." It will cover the biographies of artists, a section on music, a section on Africa, and a political and sociological section. She wishes contributions from Negroes including outspoken criticism. She may be addressed at 15 Rue Guénégaud, Paris, France.

Recent election returns of the Soviet Union announced that George Padmore, U. S. Negro, was made a member of the Moscow Soviet.

Eric Linklater, an Englishman, is the author of a recent book called "Juan in America." This is a satyr on gangsters, American culture, Hollywood, and the lynching of Negroes.

Paul Robeson has added another triumph to his London appearance by taking the part of the "Stoker Yank" in Eugene O'Neils "The Hairy Ape." The late Louis Wolheim created the part at the Provincetown Playhouse, New York. The play was directed by James Light.

HAITI

The President of Haiti has appointed a new cabinet to replace the cabinet which resigned on account of a dispute with the Legislature. The new members are: Abel Leger, Foreign Relations; Emmanuel Rampy, Interior and Commerce; Ernest Douyon, Finance and Public Works; Trasybule Laleau, Justice, and A. Etienne, Education, Agriculture and Labor.

The Haitian Chamber of Deputies on May 13 appointed a committee to study the legality of the contract between the governments of Haiti and the United States which was signed in 1915, and does not expire until 1936.

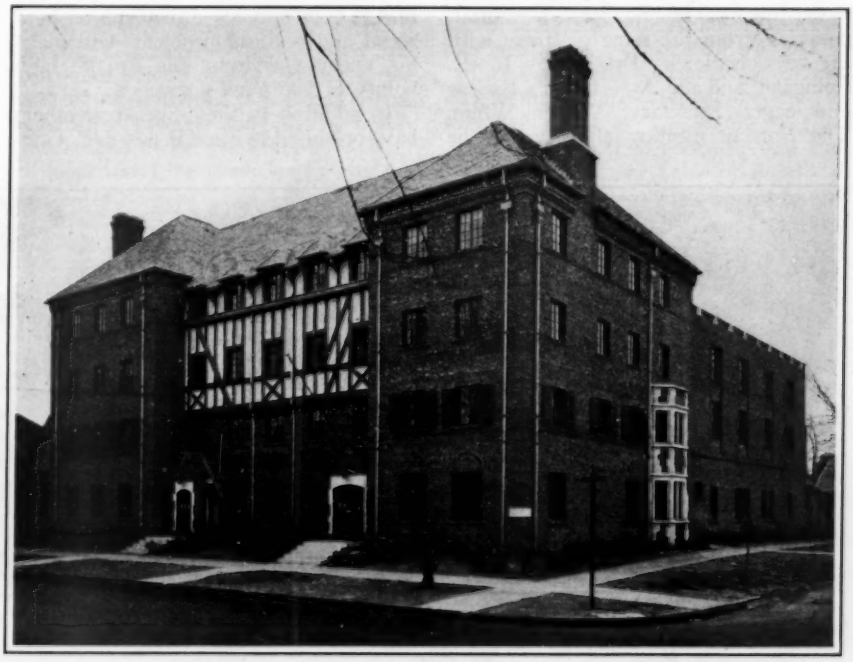
M. Constantin Mayard, the new Haitian Minister to Paris, recently presented his credentials and was received by President M. Doumergue.

WEST INDIES

Federation of the West Indian Islands has been discussed again at the House of Commons. The chief reason for this is the economy of having one instead of half a dozen governors and sets of highly paid officials. In addition to this, unity of action in many economic and political lines is greatly to be desired.

Sidney Van Sertima has been appointed King's Council, and has joined the inner bar. He is a graduate of Oxford, Inns of Court prize man and Barstowe scholar.

The Clarendon Teachers' Confedertion which met in Jamaica on April 25, 1931 included in its program a one day inspection of schools, sanitation, the grading of teachers, accommodation in the Training Colleges, representation in the Union and Educational school bodies, play field, examinations, school equipment, and the inclusion of Jamaican celebrities in school histories.



The New 203,000 Dollar Y. M. C. A. at Toledo, Ohio. Page 238

N. A. A. C. P. Pittsburgh Conference
June 30 to July 5

There are many reasons for coming to the 22nd Annual Conference in Pittsburgh of the N.A.A.C.P. Conferences are yearly gatherings where old friends from all parts of the country meet, new friends and new contacts are made, information is exchanged and new stimulus and encouragement given for the year's work.

But this year's conference in Pittsburgh promises to be unusually important and interesting and vital. One of the national officers of the Association, the Regional Field Secretary, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, lives in that city. And she, in cooperation with the exceptionally able and active branch officers and members, has done wonders in preparing a welcome.

The citizens' committee in charge of welcoming the N.A.A.C.P. is a roster bearing the names of many of the most distinguished people in Pittsburgh. It is headed by Mayor Charles H. Kline, and includes the names of four Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, numerous city and state and county officials, as well as leaders in the business and professional life of the community.

To the occasion the National Office is summoning the best it can muster among the tried and powerful friends of justice to the Negro in America. Foremost perhaps among these is Clarence Darrow who is to address the concluding monster mass meeting on Sunday, July 5, in Soldiers Memorial, speaking from the same platform with the Association's President, J. E. Spingarn, and the Association's tireless and eager Secretary, Walter White. The Sunday meeting alone would be enough to make the Pittsburgh Conference a memorable one.

But other vivid personalities are included. In Ohio, recently, a professor of Sociology was dismissed from his position at the State University because the governing board of the University did not approve of his views on a number of subjects, chief among those subjects being race relations. That dismissal was featured on the front pages of newspapers throughout the Middle West and became a dramatic incident in the struggle for academic freedom against the vested interests which control our universities. That dismissed professor was Herbert Adolphus Miller, one of the staunch friends of the N.A.A.C.P., who has always insisted upon talking to his students in a fair and enlightened way upon the problems of race relations in this country. He is to be present in Pittsburgh and those who come to the Conference may expect to hear from him a stirring and stimulating message.

For the opening mass meeting on the night of June 30, the N.A.A.C.P. has been exceptionally fortunate in obtaining Norman Thomas, celebrated orator, publicist, author of "America's Way Out" and at various times candidate of the Socialist party for President and for Governor of New York State. Mr. Thomas' long political experience, his friendship for the cause of the N.A.A.C.P. and his direct approach to social and political problems will make his opening address one of the high points of the week's sessions.

In addition to these speakers, others have promised to come if possible. Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania has assured the National Office that he would be present if his engagements permitted and that if he could not come he would send a message. Mayor Frank Murphy of Detroit, faced with the tension and difficulties of the unemployment situation in Detroit, has told the N.A.A.C.P. that he would be present if he felt he could leave his city for the trip to Pittsburgh. And the staff of the National Office will be thoroughly well represented on the platform at the Pittsburgh Conference by William Pickens, Field Secretary and by Robert W. Bagnall, Director of Branches.

In addition to the program of addresses by persons of national prominence who have long studied and been familiar with the intricate problems of race relations in various parts of the country the Pittsburgh Conference is arranging for a complete presentation of national and local problems in the discussions at the day sessions. The program for the day sessions includes discussion by delegates on how to form public opinion favorable to the Negro by proper use of the press, pamphlets and other literature, public mass meetings, volunteer speakers grouped in a speakers bureau. Other subjects which will be carefully considered at these daytime discussions will be the Negro's future participation in politics, the problems of branches and their officers, youth movements in and through the N.A.A.C.P., cases which the branches handle and the procedure in dealing with local questions when they arise.

H. J. S.

N. A. A. C. P. Popularity Contest at Pittsburgh

Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, Winner of the Madam C. J. Walker Medal, 1930

Louisa Jeffries, 2nd Prize

Virginia Craft, 1st Prize

Jeanne Scott, Chairman

Blanche Woodson 3rd Prize

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

SCOTTSBORO

THE issue in Alabama must be kept clear. Alabama is one of the states in which lynching has flourished. Alabama stands fifth upon the list, having murdered without process of law 355 human beings accused of crime between 1882-1927. But this is not the worst of the story. Under forms of law, she has deliberately murdered thousands of others, and she proposes to add to this the lives of eight Negroes scarcely more than children. Their offense was no crime, except in the slave belt. They rode as tramps on a railroad train in company with two young white prostitutes. The unwritten penalty for that sort of social equality in Alabama is death, and it is for this reason and no other that these boys are condemned. There is not in the civilized world another country where such a thing could happen. But it can happen in Alabama and it will happen unless single-handed, united effort for defense is made. Toward this end and toward no other the N. A. A. C. P. is bending every energy.

THE NEGRO'S INDUSTRIAL PLIGHT

THIS number of THE CRISIS is given up mainly to our problem of earning a living. The Secretary of Labor gives us a few vague words of good will. The Communists declare that we cannot effectively use our consuming power; that we can not build a segregated Negro economy and that any attempt to co-operate with white employers will subject us to Negro exploiters. In answer to this, Mr. Holsey tells us of an attempt by group co-operation to build up Negro retail business. How far do these things point to a way out?

We can only judge this fairly by the aid of additional information. Two books will supply much of this:

One is "The Coming of Industry to the South", published by the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science at Philadelphia and edited by William J. Carson. The other is Herman Feldman's "Racial Factors in American Industry", published by Harper and Brothers.

The first book is a tremendous exposition of the industrial revolution which has come over the South. The South of Booker T. Washington is disappearing. The South today is becoming industrialized with a speed that few Americans realize. Eight thousand million dollars worth of manufactured produce come out of the South yearly, consisting of tobacco, cotton and oil, furniture and other products, iron and steel, fertilizers and chemicals, paper, cement, railroad equipment, and hundreds of other things. Today, the South is one of the chief industrial centers of the nation. It uses 72% of all the cotton processed in American mills and has 53% of the active spindles. The South is one of the main centers of iron ore in the world and a center of steel production, not simply from its own but from imported ores. The coal industry of the South produces nearly half the bituminous coal of the nation.

But all this pales before the power production of the South;—the harnessing of water power for present and future production of electric power. The Southern Power province is producing today a greater proportion of total power by water than any states east of the Rocky Mountains. It has a total output of nearly thirteen thousand million kilowatt hours and by 1950 this will exceed sixty thousand million!

Add to this certain terrible facts: a working class, largely unorganized and to a considerable degree illiterate; this working class divided into two sections, of which the darker third has been disfranchised by the white workers, both in politics and industry, works for the lowest wages, is largely unskilled, and yet furnishes an enormous potential supply of industrial workers. To this, add the general well-known facts that the skilled worker in industry is being gradually replaced by the mass worker, working on machines and on materials owned by great aggregations of capital.

In other words, the South is growing in industry perhaps faster than any other part of the industrialized world. By the condition of its laboring class and by the power of its capitalistic exploiters, it is headed toward making every mistake and committing every crime that organized industry has committed in the past. It is unfettered by democracy, unappalled by considerations of law and order, and unafraid of poverty and crime. And all this is true despite the fact that education among black and white is increasing in the South and the forces of civilization and culture expanding. The point remains that industry is outdistancing everything.

What is the result of all this? Herman Feldman studies it in his excellent book. He writes that, to the Negro, "The whole South presents a series of rigid barriers, social, economic and political, influenced by actual regulations and supported by the almost united public sentiment." In the North these formal measures are nominally less obvious and sometimes absent, but discrimination there is found everywhere. And the author concludes in regard to the Negro:

"Between the two extremes of hopeless resignation and unwarranted anticipation of trouble are found every degree of sanity and poise. It is in these middle ranges that foundation for racial cooperation can be laid. But the sooner the causes for the more exaggerated reactions of the Negro are removed, the firmer will that foundation be."

Considering these facts, what is the way out?

First of all, Negroes must realize the present crisis: no easy going optimism, no silly prayers, no idiotic dependence on white charity will avail. The initiative is with us. What shall we do?

THE CRISIS will welcome suggestions, and ventures here with all modesty to suggest its own.

1. Group effort to retain present employment, enter new fields of industrial technique, expand retail business, and live within our incomes; recognizing clearly that is only a transitional and temporary effort which does not attack the matter of our gaining real power and economic independence in the face of the organized monopoly of credit and concentration of power in transportation, mining, trade and manufacture.

2. Beyond this, definite and far-reaching effort to organize our consuming power. We are not as helpless here as some think. Twelve million people have a tremendous consuming power, even without direct voice or ownership in basic industries. We spend at least a thousand million dollars a year and probably twice that in rent, food, clothes, furniture, amusement and other things. The place, method, character and amount of this expenditure is not

wholly but very considerably a matter of our own judgment and discretion. If we once make a religion of our determination to spend our meager income so far as possible only in such ways as will bring us employment consideration and opportunity the possibilities before us are enormous. This was shown in the Chicago *Whip* campaign last year and that was but a bare beginning. A nation twice as large as Portugal, Holland or Sweden is not powerless—is not merely a suppliant beggar for crumbs—it is mighty economic power when it gets vision enough to use its strength.

3. As we carefully organize our power as consumers, we must lend every effort to establish an economic General Staff. There is, for instance, no reason in the world why American Negroes, beginning with the cottonfield and working through the cotton gin, the cotton mill, the wholesale distributor and the retail store, should not furnish themselves with clothing in the face of the organized competition and discrimination of the surrounding economic world. This may mean some difference in fashions of dress and quality of material. It would mean undoubtedly a spiritual revolution in Negro thought and action. But it need not mean violence nor force, hatred nor economic war. The philosophy of Booker T. Washington must turn toward wide intensive economic research in our colleges; repeated and determined actual and practical experiments; careful concentration and organization. It is a way out but it demands for its accomplishment the organization of education, the co-operation of the Negro church, without reference to creed, and the organization of intelligent sacrifice among masses of men such as the world has seldom seen but which is nevertheless patently possible.

THE CRISIS

WE had long considered the name of this magazine original and unique but Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard calls our attention to a periodical named "The Crisis," published in London, weekly, "During the Present Bloody Civil War in America." The copy advertised for sale is for Saturday, January 21, 1775, and it is described as follows:

"A periodical published weekly. The work, WHICH IS OF GREAT RARITY, contains a remarkable collection of papers attacking the ministry and the British Government in terms of the greatest severity. INDEED? ONE CAN HARDLY BELIEVE THAT IN TIME OF WAR A PUBLICATION OF SUCH A CHARACTER WOULD BE TOLERATED . . ."

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We are proud of our worthy intellectual ancestry.

THE CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN CHILDREN

THE Conference on African Children, which is being held this month in Geneva, is not, we fear, so radical and philanthropical a body as we had hoped to see. It has been pointed out that this Conference is backed by all the imperialistic governments and apparently is called in the interest of those governments; that these demand the work of the children of Africa in order to obtain cheap labor to exploit the resources of that continent. It is to be expected that the Conference will stress the necessity of white rule for the good of black children. Let us hope that liberal organizations which have the real advancement of Africa at heart, will be represented at this meeting and will stress the fact that child labor in mines and plantations; the breaking up of African families and the general exploitation and oppression of Africa is the real cause of child mortality, ignorance and distress.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

I HAVE before me a taxation bill of the city of Charleston, South Carolina, for the year 1930. It is the statement of the corporation tax and the tax for schools and it is levied on a colored property owner of Charleston. This citizen owned $550 worth of property, assessed value. On this he must pay the enormous tax of $44.69, and of this amount $1 is for public golf links and a club house to which no Negro is admitted; twenty-five cents is for the College of Charleston, to which no Negro is admitted; and $16.25 is for schools which cost a million dollars, but $800,000 of this is spent on the white schools while the Negroes, forming half the population, get only $200,000. The Negroes have no representation in the common council, no city officials of any sort, and no representation on the school boards. The vast majority of them, no matter what their qualifications are, do not vote.

MR. JOHNSON'S DINNER

ON May 14, 1931, a dinner was given to James Weldon Johnson, "poet, diplomat, public servant," at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. There were 300 persons present, representing all walks of life. The dinner was in honor of Mr. Johnson's work in the N. A. A. C. P., and also by a month anticipated his 60th birthday.

J. Rosamond Johnson, his brother and long his co-worker, was deservedly the chief guest. It was his genius in music that gave James Weldon Johnson his first wide opportunity in the world. Other speakers were Walter White, W. E. B. DuBois, J. E. Spingarn, Dantés Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to the United States, Heywood Broun, Mary McLeod Bethune and Carl Van Doren. Mr. Johnson's poems were read by Mary White Ovington and Robert W. Bagnall and a poem dedicated to him by Counteé Cullen.

We can not characterize the dinner more felicitously than by quoting an editorial in the New York *Nation:*

"Public dinners are frequently a bore. Public testimonial dinners at which some luckless individual hears himself the recipient of flowery encomiums and then makes a feeble effort to reply are more often a bore than not. But on May 14 in New York City there was held a testimonial dinner that from start to finish was nothing less than a memorable, exciting, and altogether moving occasion. This was the dinner given in honor of James Weldon Johnson on his retirement from his work as secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was a far cry from a welfare dinner attended by both races about thirty years ago, when the white participants were bitterly lampooned in the press for having publicly dined with Negroes, to the dinner given for Mr. Johnson. At the latter there were hundreds of guests, both white and colored; the dinner was held at one of the largest of the New York hotels; the most obvious spirit of good-will prevailed. More than that, the program, made up of agreeably short speeches by various associates and admirers of Mr. Johnson through his long life as songwriter, poet, diplomat, and public man, was varied and interesting throughout. And the reply of the guest of honor was long, composed, free of false modesty, admirably phrased, and evidenced sufficient emotional strain without reducing its author to speechless embarrassment. There are few men in the country of whatever color who could have called forth such wholehearted tributes from persons so enlightened; there are few who could have responded to these tributes with such distinction."

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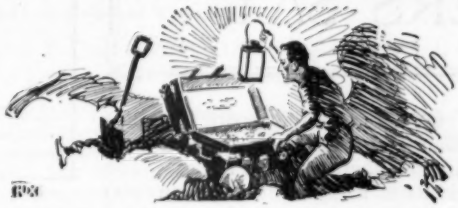

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OUR READERS SAY

DO you not think that the essay by Clarence Darrow in THE CRISIS will be harmful to some readers? Still credit must be given him for seeing that the Catholic church is the friend of the Negro race. It is to be regretted that Bishop R. E. Jones did not do the same in his splendid essay. He mentions the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, but the Catholic church is ignored. Could you call his attention to this? Are not those questions about God dangerous? How will simple people who have strong faith in the goodness and providence of God answer them?

R. VERNIMONT, Catholic Priest,
Texas.

WITH reference to queries on page 192 of the June CRISIS, and particularly with reference to the query: "Is a definite creed or belief necessary to a church" and whether if "a church tried to do good without a creed, would it be a church?"—allow me to enclose the "Statement of Principles" of the Church of the Gathering Call—a church that is creedless and takes the position that a church can be a church without a creed and that a church can do good without a creed.

C. A. CRICHLOW, Virginia

I HAVE just received a copy of your excellent magazine THE CRISIS and have noted that an irate reader has accused you of atheism. If the accusation be a true one, I tender my heartiest congratulations. Too few people have the courage and the enlightment to discard their old superstitions and to pass on to something better. Too few realize that all religions are man-made things, and that they, all of them, have been a great curse to the human race.

And among all the religions that have afflicted the minds of humanity, none, perhaps, has an uglier history than Christianity. Just recall how Christianity dealt with the Albigenses, the Hugenots, the Jews; recall the treatment of heretics and witches; and how persistently for centuries it has sought to shackle the human mind.

No doubt the mob of white men who burned the colored man at Maryville, Missouri a short time ago were Christians, yet that did not deter them from their cruel, blood-thirsty deed.

Twenty-years ago when I was in college, Dr. Du Bois, I read a book of yours, entitled, I believe, "The History of the African Slave Trade", one of the most pitiful, tragic stories that I have ever read. Surely the record of man's inhumanity to man is a terrible thing.

I am glad there are men like you. The world needs many of them, men who will lead us on to a higher level of sanity, tolerance, and kindly and noble living.

GRACE C. FRISCH, Nebraska.

IN current issue, at the end of an excellent race article, I was startled when I read—"The Editor adds . . . Do you believe in God?" etc. I was assured, "the editor is a sensible man", and does not ask "fool questions"; therefore he desired and expects, an answer! Prefacing my remarks, I wish to say, the Bible has an adequate answer already prepared for you . . . Every Christian Church has this definite, four-square, foundation creed: I believe in God, the Father; I believe in Jesus Christ His Son; I believe in the Holy Spirit; I believe in the Bible as the Word of God—2 Tim.; 2:19. The "other church" has no creed, but they have a principle of Evil—see Titus 1:16 "professing to know God; in works they deny him, being disobedient, abominable reprobates".

REV. GEORGE WILSON BRENT, N. J.

THE two articles in the June CRISIS by Clarence Darrow and Bishop R. E. Jones are very excellent literary themes. The philosophy of each man diametrically opposes the other. Which, shall we as a racial group, accept? "As for me", give me Clarence Darrow's philosophy, that says truly and sincerely: "The Negro, like the rest, must look out for this world. Before he robs himself to increase the extravagance of the Church, he should ask the simple question: What has his God and the Church done for him?"

Ask Mr. Darrow to contribute more such articles to the CRISIS.

JOHN A. MARTIN, N. Y.

"DO you believe in God?" Most assuredly. I cannot do otherwise and maintain respect for my own mind.

"What do you mean by God?" The word "God" means to me an intelligent spirit being, free, powerful, and the best that can be. Neither a powerful man, a mere thought nor a mere force.

"Is He all-powerful and, if so, why does He permit evil?" Because He made man a free agent, to choose as he would between good and evil, between moral life and moral death. As re-

(*Will you please turn to page 246*)

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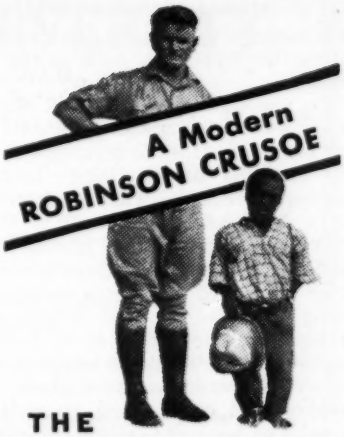

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—Ira De A. Reid, *The New Republic*

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(*Continued from page 244*)

gards material evil, it is as much a problem for the unbeliever as it is for the believer.

"Do you believe that He will change the course of the world in answer to your prayer?" It is not necessary to believe anything of the kind, because granting or refusing what I ask for is part of His plan for the world.

"Do you believe that the Jewish Jesus was His son, was born without a human father and could perform miracles like raising the dead?" I so believe and am happy in the ability so to believe. Possibly you too would be happy in like manner, if you knew the Catholic explanation and could bring yourself to the point of begging God for the gift of Faith. . . .

"If you believe these things, do you admit that some people do not believe them." What a question! Evidently you do not believe them. "What would you like to do to these people? Would like to kill them or put them in jail?" Neither, but only pity them and pray for them that they may do their part for getting the gift of Faith to be able to know and love Jesus and the Father Who sent Him. "Or do you admit that they have a right to their belief?" I admit that every man has not only the right but also the duty to believe what an honest conscience tells him is the truth. The rub is the honesty of the conscience.

"Finally, is a definite creed or belief absolutely necessary to a church?" Decidedly, yes, if the church stands for anything. "Suppose a church tried to do good without a creed, would it be a church?" An impossible supposition, because *to do good* would be its creed. . . .

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